



FATE OF THE CHURCH.

Bolt-court, 6. March, 1834.

This church is manifestly on her last legs. She is, this very year, TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SIX YEARS OLD! A good old age, She was CREATED by act of Parliament, spang new, in the year 1548, in the 2nd year of the reign of the Protestant saint, King EDWARD the Sixth. The act states, that the COMMON-PRAYER-Book was made with the "aid of the HOLY GHOST"; but the same Parliament that enacted it, *repealed* it, when the Royal Protestant saint died. *Repealed!* Repeal that which had been made "*by the aid of the Holy Ghost!*" Hold your tongue, reader; we are not to pretend to understand high matters like this. However, it was in about five years *re-enacted*; and it has continued to this day; *how many days longer* it will continue, I do not pretend to say! That the old Dame is *going* the way of all flesh, must be evident to every one; and all good men must desire that she should go in a *proper manner*; that *justice* should take place; and that the thing should be EFFECTUALLY DONE.

In order that such may be the result, the people at large must *clearly understand* all about this church; her use, her progress, her present state, what she *does to the people*, and *why* it is that they anticipate *her fall* with pleasure. The debate on the DEVONSHIRE PETITION, which will be found in another part of this *Register*, only shows that there is a *confusion of notions*, on the subject; and,

unless that confusion can be removed, we shall only blunder along from error to error; and from one act of injustice to another. Now, to avoid this, we ought to have the complete history of this church, and of all those of its doings, which have brought it into its present state, and prepared it for its approaching fall.

The History of the "*Protestant Reformation*" did good service; it pulled the mask off that tyrannical and bloody set of proceedings out of which this church arose, and it took a hasty view of its progress for some time; but, that view was too hasty to leave much impression on the mind of the reader; and it was, besides, defective as to the conduct of this church, especially relative to *that conduct in these latter times*. That history vindicated our forefathers, and the religion which they followed; it is complete as to that point. But, there was wanting *an addition*, bringing down the history of *this church* to the present time; showing how it has worked along, keeping to itself all the *wealth* of the Catholic church, taking a great deal more than that church took, and, in short, becoming, at last, *what we now behold it*, a bloated mass that the people will no longer endure.

I will now make *that addition to my history*, and will publish it under the following title:

THE
FATE OF THE CHURCH;
BEING A SEQUEL TO THE HISTORY
OF THE
PROTESTANT REFORMATION.

SHOWING,
How this Church rose, by what means it has been sustained, and also the *causes* of its approaching fall;

WITH REFERENCES TO
All the Acts of Parliament relating to the Church, and particularly all those that relate to TITHES, whether Clerical or Lay, and also to those which relate to the ABBEY LANDS.

BY WM. COBBETT, M. P. FOR QUEENBOROUGH.

Now, as to the *manner* of doing this. It may be done in about EIGHT OR TEN SHEETS of print, or (in duodecimo) about 200 pages. It might, and it may, be inserted in ten or fifteen REGISTERS; but, this would not answer all the purposes, nor half the purposes, that I have in view. Ten REGISTERS would cost an artisan or a labourer TWELVE SHILLINGS, and that would not do. Besides, I want the matter to be in a little *snug volume*, that people may have it to read again and again. Therefore I will, life and health permitting, have it ready to publish in *two weeks after Easter*; that is, by the FIFTEENTH OF APRIL; or, at the latest, by the first of May. This will be the CHURCH REFORM MANUAL: here will be a reference to all the acts of Parliament, which, from time to time, have been procured to be passed for the purpose of upholding this church. It will be a real SEQUEL to the History of the "PROTESTANT REFORMATION"; and, without it, that famous work will not be complete: *Vanity* for a man to call his own work famous! No: not when it has been translated into all modern languages; not when hundreds of thousands of copies of it have been sold in England and Ireland and Scotland; not when two stereotype editions have been printed in the United States of America, where, and in South America, the Americans say, *a million* of copies have been sold. It is not *vanity*, but truth necessary to be stated, for me to call this work famous.

There are *two English editions* of the "Protestant Reformation"; one in LARGE OCTAVO, and the other in DUODECIMO. I shall print some of the Sequel to *suit both*; so that all those who have the book, may complete it at a trifling expense, and may be prepared at all points to give an opinion upon matters that *must* now become subjects of general conversation and discussion. This church has gone on creeping over us by slow and imperceptible degrees. We feel the effects of its monstrous powers; but we do not know how it came to be possessed of those powers; and it is to the *origin* of them that we must now look. And then, as to the *present state*

of the church, we have nothing in any *manageable shape*. I will bring all the information into a small compass, and dispose of it at a *small price*; so that every man may know, if he chooses, every thing necessary to be known as to this important national concern, involving, or affecting, in one way or another, not less than a *third* part of the whole of the real property of the kingdom.

When I wrote the History of the "PROTESTANT REFORMATION," I was sure that it would produce a *great change* as to THE CHURCH. It has produced great changes indeed! But, far greater are now to be produced; and, that we may proceed upon solid grounds and act *justly*, we must have the history of the conduct and effects of the church down to this our own day; and this history I now mean to give.

"COBBETT'S MAGAZINE."

THE following notification has appeared in this magazine.

"OUR MAGAZINE.—John M. Cobbett and James P. Cobbett, Esquires, no longer conduct this magazine, nor are in any way connected with it. No other change will take place in the work; it will steadily advocate the same principles in politics as hitherto; it has now the character of being the only Radical monthly periodical, professing to be devoted to the cause of the people aggregately, which has not been led away from its principles to advocate the interest of classes in the community, or been captivated by the liberty-subverting but specious schemes of the *philosophers* and political economists. We want no new cut-and-dry constitution, the work of men calling themselves philosophical radicals. We wish to see the restoration of the old Saxon constitution, or rather, we wish to have the alterations which the combined oligarchy of Whigs and Tories have made in it—swept away with the accumulated abuses of which they have been the originators. In *this good work*, we shall lend *all the assistance* in our

"power to Mr. COBBETT, whose unaided mind has already accomplished so much in promulgating true principles in politics."

Now, this being the case, and the magazine still bearing the name of "COBBETT'S" the public will naturally suppose, that *I have something*, at least, to do with it; which *I have not*, and *never have had*, not even so much as to offer *any opinion* as to the undertaking of it, the conducting of it, or the discontinuing of it. The last sentence in the above notification would admit of a construction which was certainly not intended; but, it has rendered this public explanation, on my part, absolutely necessary.

A mere *accident* prevents me from inserting a long article, which I had prepared for insertion here. An accident by FIRE! Not, as the newspaper people call it, an "*incendiary fire*." But, its effects have been as bad as if it were.

POOR-LAW COMMISSION.

THE following are the recommendations of the Poor-Law Commissioners. I beg my readers to have the patience to go through these recommendations with attention: they will see what a brace of bishops, a brace of lawyers, and two couple of newspaper reporters, or something of that sort, are capable of recommending, as the suitable treatment for the most unfortunate part of the working people of England. There is no bill brought in upon the subject as yet; and I should hope that there would not; for I by no means wish to hold the King's servants in detestation, which I should do, if they were to sanction and adopt these barbarous recommendations.

1. That except as to medical attendance, and subject to the exception respecting apprenticeship hereinafter stated, *all relief whatever to the able-bodied persons or to their families, otherwise than in well-regulated workhouses* (i. e. places where they may be set to work according to the spirit and intention of the 43. of Elizabeth) *shall be declared unlawful, and shall cease*, in manner and at periods hereafter speci-

ed; and that all relief afforded in respect of children under the age of 16, shall be considered as afforded to their parents.

2. We recommend the appointment of a *Central Board*, to control the administration of the poor-laws, with such *assistant Commissioners as may be found requisite*; and that the Commissioners be empowered and directed to *frame and enforce regulations for the government of workhouses*, and as to the nature and amount of the relief to be given, and the labour to be exacted in them, and that such regulations shall, as far as may be practicable, be uniform throughout the country.

3. We recommend that the Central Board be empowered to cause any number of parishes which they may think convenient to be incorporated for the purpose of workhouse management, and for providing new workhouses where necessary, to declare their workhouses to be the common workhouses of the incorporated district, and to assign to those workhouses separate classes of poor, though composed of the poor of distinct parishes, each distinct parish paying to the support of the permanent workhouse establishment, in proportion to the average amount of the expense incurred for the relief of its poor, for the three previous years, and paying separately for the food and clothing of its own paupers.

4. We recommend that the Central Board be empowered and required to take measures for the general adoption of a complete, clear, and, as far as may be practicable, uniform system of accounts.

5. We further recommend that the Central Board be empowered to incorporate parishes for the purpose of appointing and *paying permanent officers*, and for the execution of works of public labour.

6. We recommend that the Central Board be directed to state the general qualifications which shall be necessary to candidates for paid offices connected with the relief of the poor, to recommend to parishes and incorporations proper persons to act as paid officers, and to remove any paid officers whom

they shall think unfit for their situations.

7. We recommend, that the Central Board be empowered to direct the parochial consumption to be supplied by tender and contract, and to provide that the competition be perfectly free.

8. We recommend that the Central Board be empowered and required to act in such cases as public prosecutors.

9. We recommend, that under regulations to be framed by the Central Board, parishes be empowered *to treat any relief afforded to the able-bodied or to their families, and any expenditure in the workhouses or otherwise incurred on their account, as a loan, and recoverable not only by the means given by the 29th section of the 59 Geo. III., c. 12, but also by attachment of their subsequent wages*, in a mode resembling that pointed out in the 30th, 31st and 32nd sections of that act.

10. We recommend, that the Central Board be empowered to make such regulations as they shall think fit respecting the relief to be afforded by apprenticing children, and that at a future period, when the effect of the proposed alterations shall have been seen, the Central Board be required to make a special inquiry into the operation of the laws respecting the apprenticing children at the expense of parishes, and into the operation of the regulations in that respect which the Board shall have enforced.

11. We recommend, that the Central Board be empowered and directed to frame and enforce regulations as to the relief to be afforded to vagrants and discharged prisoners.

12. We recommend, that the Board be required to submit a report annually to one of your Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, containing — 1. An account of their proceedings; 2. Any further amendments which they may think it advisable to suggest; 3. The evidence on which the suggestions are founded; 4. Bills carrying those amendments (if any) into effect, which bills the Board shall be empowered to prepare with professional assistance.

13. We recommend, that the Central Board be empowered to appoint and remove their assistants and all their subordinate officers.

14. We recommend, that settlement by hiring and service, apprenticeship, purchasing or renting a tenement, estate, paying rates, or serving an office, be abolished.

15. We recommend, that (subject to the obvious exceptions of persons born in prisons, hospitals, and workhouses) the settlement of every legitimate child born after the passing of the intended act, follow that of the parents or surviving parent of such child, until such child shall attain the age of sixteen years, or the death of its surviving parent; and that at the age of sixteen, or on the death of its surviving parent, such child shall be considered settled in the place in which it was born.

16. We recommend, that whenever there shall be any question regarding the settlement by birth of a person, whether legitimate or illegitimate, and whether born before or after the passing of the intended act, the place where such person shall have been first known by the evidence of such person, by the register of his or her birth or baptism, or otherwise, to have existed, shall be presumed to have been the place of his or her birth, until the contrary shall be proved.

EASTARDY.

17. We recommend that the general rule shall be followed, as far as it is possible, and that every illegitimate child born after the passing of the act, shall, until it attain the age of sixteen, follow its mother's settlement.

18. As a further step towards the natural state of things, we recommend that the mother of an illegitimate child, born after the passing of the act, be required to support it, and that any relief occasioned by the wants of the child be considered relief afforded to the parent.

19. We recommend that the same liability be extended to her husband.

20. On the other hand, we recommend the repeal of that part of the 35 Geo. III. c. 101, s. 6, which makes an unmarried pregnant woman removable,

and the 50 Geo. III. c. 51, s. 2, which authorises the committal of the mother of a chargeable bastard to the house of correction.

21. We recommend therefore that the second section of the 18 Elizabeth, cap. 3, and all other acts which punish or charge the putative father of a bastard, shall, as to all bastards born after the passing of the intended act, be repealed.

EMIGRATION.

22. We recommend, that the vestry of each parish be empowered to order the payment, out of the rates raised for the relief of the poor, of the expenses of the emigration of any persons having settlements within such parish, who may be willing to emigrate; provided, that the expense of each emigration be raised and paid, within a period to be mentioned in the act.

TITHES.

I WERE insert the debate on the Devonshire petition, which was presented on Monday last. It may be regarded as leading the van in that attack under which the church is certainly destined to fall. We have here the sentiments of several noblemen and gentlemen, persons of great consequence. The two county members, Lord EBRINGTON and Lord JOHN RUSSELL, here give us their sentiments. It is impossible not to perceive, that they and the Government are most prodigiously embarrassed; and it is also impossible not to perceive that this is too late to make any efforts to preserve this church.

DEVON TITHE PETITION.

Lord EBRINGTON presented a petition from the owners and occupiers of land in the county of Devon, agreed to at a public meeting of both divisions of the county, most respectably and numerously attended by those on whose behalf it was presented. The petition complained of the injustice of the cler-

gyman demanding a tenth of the gross produce of the soil when he had contributed nothing to its production, and when, as often happened, the entire crop would not pay the expenses of the cultivator. (Hear, hear). They earnestly prayed that House to take the subject of tithes into its most serious consideration: and that that heavy impost might be commuted, on the basis of supposing the tithe-owner to be a tenth proprietor of the soil, but they preferred that tithes should remain upon their present footing, to their owners, by any plan of commutation, being relieved from the payment of their just proportion of the parochial burdens. These were the sentiments of the numerical majority of the payers of tithes in the county of Devon, although a small proportion only of the great landed proprietors attended at the meeting which adopted the petition. He thought that the sentiments which he now expressed were those of the majority of the large landed proprietors. At the same time, he felt how unpleasant it was, that he was compelled on this question to differ from a large portion of the inhabitants of the county; but more particularly how unpleasant it was that he should differ from a great portion of those to whom he was indebted for the seat he held in that House. He had never, however, disguised from them his real opinions on the subject. From the first moment when he became a member of this House from that constituency, he had been the advocate of equitable commutation, because he thought that a fair and equitable commutation would be equally beneficial to the impropiator of tithes as to the occupier of the lands. He also thought that had the question (in that point of view) been agitated many years ago, there would not have been that difficulty and discontent which now attended the settlement of the question. But he never had considered, and he firmly believed that he never should consider, that the principle of one-tenth of the rent was a fair and equitable principle upon which to regulate the proposed commutation; he did not think that it would be fair and just, and he

had stated to his constituents that to such a proposition he never could conscientiously give his consent. He would not trespass further on the attention of the House, but proceed at once to lay the petition before the House.

The petition was then read, and the petitioners, after reciting the grievances attending the present system of tithes, in conclusion prayed the House not to pass any measure which would have the effect of exempting the owners of tithe property from contributing their fair proportion to the payment of parochial rates.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL said that this petition, from the county of Devon, emanated from a large and respectable meeting, and contained the signatures of 9,000 persons. He quite agreed with the petitioners in their opinion of the unjust and oppressive nature of tithes. Nothing could be more unjust or injurious than a law which discouraged the cultivators of the soil, and which interfered with any cultivators of the soil who might be disposed to turn new lands into cultivation. He considered tithes in themselves to have been the institution of a barbarous age, and his only surprise was that it should be left to these times to supply a remedy. He could bear testimony to the integrity of the petitioners, as well as their kind feelings towards all classes of their countrymen. Though he differed with the petitioners in their conclusions, yet he believed that they meant to do justice to the clergy and other classes of tithe-owners. He believed that they were led to those conclusions, respecting the property of the church, by the high tone which was taken regarding that property. But those who had so often said that tithes should be considered as private property, ought to be told that if it were private property, it ought to be held as other private property was, and not that private property the holders of which, whilst a portion was only claimed by them as a right, often took possession of the whole. He thought that where the profits were large, the clergyman was entitled to his share of those profits whilst tithes remained; but whenever

the profits were small, he should be equally content with his share of them in a fair proportion. He must say that the reasons advanced by the petitioners in this respect were not unnatural. But at this point he was compelled to differ with these honourable and respectable men. He did not think that tithes, which were legally a tenth of the soil, could be fairly commuted for a tenth of the rent or profits of the land. (Hear). In the county of Devon, the rent of the land was one-third of the soil, and if the prayer of the petitioners were acceded to, the tithe to be paid to the church would not be a tenth, but a thirtieth of the produce of the land. (Hear, hear, hear). Having considered the question both this session and last, he must say that he was most anxious for a fair commutation of tithes, but he must repeat that he did not think that a tenth of the rent would be a fair remuneration for tithes as at present paid. He concurred in those expressions of regret used by his noble Friend in being obliged to differ from those gentlemen who did him the honour to send him into that House, but he was comforted by that knowledge that the farmers of England generally were not inclined to go the length of the present petitioners, and therefore he was led to believe that the feeling of England was not in accordance with that expressed by the petitioners.

MR. BULTEEL declared his dissent from the proposition put forth in the petition; and he did so with the less reluctance because he was certain that his opinion was not at variance with that of the majority of the yeomanry of the county of Devon. (Hear). He felt satisfied that if the petition had not contained that proposition to which the noble Lord who preceded him had referred, it would have received 40,000 signatures, instead of 9,000. All through Devon there was a great and deep anxiety upon this subject. (Hear). He could not help congratulating the House on the sentiments which had been expressed by his noble Friend who had just sat down, and he could not help feeling pleased that so desired a

measure was to be proposed by his Majesty's Ministers. A measure, he was happy to say, which would have the effect of settling for ever the dispute between the two parties—the clergy and the farmer; a measure which would relieve the country from a tax on one important branch of its productive industry; a measure by which the agriculturist could improve his land to the utmost improveable point, without fear of coming into contact with his clergyman. He could not sit down without again expressing his delight at the announcement of the noble Lord, the Paymaster of the Forces, and expressing his hope that the measure to be brought in would meet the approbation of the House.

Sir W. CHAYTOR was understood, from the very low tone in which he spoke, to concur in the prayer of the petition. He was only astonished how the people of the country had continued to pay tithes so easily. An hon. Gentleman who had spoken said that 40,000 signatures would have graced the petition, if a different ground had been taken, but if that was the case, the 9,000 whose names were attached, formed the majority of a contrary opinion. He begged to know how the people were to be relieved. The right of the clergy to the present amount of their tithes had been admitted by the noble Paymaster of the Forces, but he repudiated their being collected under the denomination of tithes. The noble Lord called tithes a relic of the barbarous ages, but still admitted the right of the church to one-tenth of the labour and capital of the country. He supported the prayer of the petition, for although a commutation of tithes might not be fair in Ireland, it was in England, where the occupier as well as owner of the soil was a Protestant.

Mr. BULTEEL and Lord EBRINGTON explained.

Mr. PARROTT, as having had the honour to be present at the meeting which adopted the petition, begged to make a few observations upon the principle on which the petitioners acted. But first, he must make a remark on what fell

from the noble Lord opposite. It was true that the petition had not the signatures of the majority of the great landowners of the county, but had the signatures of some few. He found, in the first sheet, the names of no less than nine magistrates of the county; and, without imputing any improper motives to the great landowners of Devon, he must say that he thought their not sanctioning the petition might be accounted for from the fact that many of them were themselves largely interested in tithes, as church patrons, (hear, hear), and any thing which went to diminish tithes must diminish the value of their patronage. With respect to tithes, it was the universal feeling that they should neither be taken in kind nor in money, to the full amount of the value in kind. To make a commutation which would fix them with the payment of the full tenth of the gross produce, instead of relieving the agricultural interest of its grievances, would be a great aggravation of them. And for this plain reason, that on half the land in the country to take a tenth of the gross produce would be to take the whole profit of cultivation. Therefore it was that the petitioners came forward and constitutionally pointed out how they wished to be relieved. It had been observed by the hon. Member for Marybone the other night (he believed under a mistake), that there had been combinations in the county of Devon against the payment of tithes. Now he (Mr. P.) had never heard of any such combinations, or at least of any combinations to do illegal acts; but he had heard of a requisition most numerous and respectably signed, having been presented to the sheriff, who, in consequence, convened a meeting, also most numerous and respectably attended, at which many highly influential and respectable individuals fully and fairly delivered their opinions on the subject of tithes. He also thought that there was considerable misconception on the part of hon. Members on the subject of the real intentions and wishes of these petitioners. He was, he considered, from his connexion

with them, in a situation to be able correctly to explain what really were their objects. What the petitioners really meant and wished was, that the land should be valued as tithe free in the first instance, as also of being free of rates and taxes. The value having been ascertained in this manner, then a tenth part of that value was to go to the tithe-owner, subject to the same rates and taxes as the other nine parts. (Hear, hear). This was a very different thing from a tenth part of the rent; this was one thing and that was another. The rent might be a low rent, as a portion of the net produce for the use and occupation of the land. (Hear, hear, hear). The amount of the composition in Devonshire did not exceed 2s. 6d. in the pound. Now, if the land was valued, in the way the petitioners required, it would exceed 2s.; indeed it would, in his opinion, very nearly amount to the 2s. 6d. But it was necessary that the House should really know what the petitioners really sought for. They did not require to commute the tithe at 2s. in the pound upon the net rent, because, in that case, it would not be a fair arrangement; they would in fact be then doubly taxed. What they wanted was that the land be valued as tithe free, the tenth part, of course, to belong to the tithe-owner, but that this tenth should be subject to the poor and other rates, from which under the present system is now exempt. It sometimes happened that the tithes were not in the hands of one proprietor. Now in such cases the petitioners proposed that the fair liabilities of each tithe-owner should be ascertained by arbitration. In looking at the question of tithes, it would be well for hon. gentlemen to bear in mind the circumstances under which they were granted. At that period the land was in a state of nature, and a very inconsiderable portion of it was under cultivation; but even then tithes were appropriated to four different objects. The maintenance of the bishop, the clergy, repairing of churches, and the support of the poor. They were subsequently divided into three parts; but when they came into Protestant hands,

they laid hold of the whole of the tithes, and threw the keeping of the poor upon the land itself. (Hear, hear, hear). Taking all those circumstances into account, he must say, that he considered the proposition of the petitioners most reasonable (hear, hear, hear); and Ministers would do well if they did not adopt the suggestions of the petitioners, that they would, in any plan which they might bring in for the commutation of tithes, adopt a course not less reasonable than that proposed by the petitioners. The noble Lord who presented this petition had truly said, that these petitioners were loyal subjects, and that they most materially assisted his Majesty's Government in carrying the measure of reform. And what did they do this for? Why, to get rid of the practical grievances under which they laboured. What was the use of the Reform Bill to these petitioners unless the grievances of which they justly complained were either disposed of altogether, or so modified that they would not press with that weight which heretofore they had done. He agreed in the entire prayer of the petition, and he begged to point out to the noble Paymaster of the Forces the golden opportunity which the Government now had, by acceding to the prayer of the petition before the House, of attaching a large and influential body of people to his Majesty's Government. (Hear). If this opportunity were thrown away, it might, perhaps, never come again. The great complaint of the country was, that since the passing of the Reform Bill, Government had not brought forward any of those measures in which the public feelings were encouraged: they had now this last opportunity afforded them of doing justice to the people; and he trusted his Majesty's Ministers would not suffer that opportunity to be thrown away.

An hon. MEMBER said, that as a landlord of the county of Devon, he had been requested to support the prayer of this petition, and he took the earliest opportunity of expressing his full concurrence in its prayer. The petition proceeded from one of the largest meet-

things he ever beheld, and was assisted in by the most respectable and wealthy landholders in the county. The noble Lord had stated, that if the petition had been otherwise drawn up, it would have been signed not alone by 9,000, but by 40,000 persons. The inference intended to be derived from this was, that a part of the county differed from the prayer of this petition. And, if that was the case, let it be proved; and he defied them to get up a petition of a different nature. As to the argument, that the tithe-owner was entitled to one-tenth of the produce, he could only say, that in Devonshire, within his own memory, the tithe had been as low as one tenth of the rent. Twelve years ago it was 2s. 6d. in the pound, and it was only within the last nine years it was raised to 3s. He did not see why it might not be reduced to 2s. from 2s. 6d., as reasonable as it had been raised to 3s. There would be (as we understood the hon. Member) no more infraction, if right in one case, than in the other. Another argument against the reduction of tithes was, that the occupiers of land and the consumers generally would not be benefited by it, but that the saving would all go into the pockets of the landlords. It was true, that, under the present system, land which was tithe-free brought a higher rent than that which paid tithe; but if the impost were altogether swept away, the public would be benefited by the greater cheapness and abundance of produce, but the landlord would have no more than his fair and equitable proportion of the general advantage. He cautioned the noble Lord, that if he did not bring forward a temperate measure, it would give satisfaction to none of those whose acquiescence would be worth having.

Mr. WILBRAHAM thought the existence of the present system of tithes an anomaly, and its effects harsh and preposterous. It tended to the destruction of all improvement in agriculture, while, at the same time, it had the effect of impoverishing the farmer. On these grounds, therefore, he should most willingly support any measure to be proposed by the Government which, while it pre-

served the integrity of the established church, should relieve the country from the oppressive tax of tithes. While he was on the subject, however, he could not avoid protesting against the constituency of any part of the country dictating to its representatives (Cries of Oh, oh) on this subject. It should be left to the wisdom of Parliament (a laugh)—to the deliberate consideration of that body, by whom every interest in the country was equally and justly attended to. He should not have entered into the present discussion, had he not been anxious to explain what he had said on a former occasion, and which had been misunderstood by the hon. Member for Oldham. That hon. Member, on the debate upon the distress of the country, stated that he (Mr. Wilbraham) attributed it solely to tithes, which was not the case.

An hon. MEMBER (Mr. Fellowes, we believe) begged to add his little testimony to the respectability of the petitioners, but could not to their disposition to discuss the question in fairness and moderation. He declared his belief that the greater number of the petitioners went to the meeting with the determination to support a petition for a composition of two shillings in the pound upon the rent. The hon. Member for Totness had endeavoured to explain away that part of the petition, but had not at all succeeded in relieving his mind upon the point. He thought he should not be justified in consenting to the arrangement the petition proposed, as it was, in his opinion, conducive to spoliation. The noble Paymaster of the Forces had stated tithes to be a relic of the barbarous ages, and was astonished that they had existed so long; but he (Mr. Fellowes) attributed their long continuance to the great moderation shown in their exaction. Tithes had risen during the war, according as the price of provisions had risen during that period; but he believed had not fallen in the same proportion after peace. He hoped the Government plan would include some provisions for a redemption of tithes, and thus put an end to heart-burnings, which had so long existed.

He regretted he could not support the prayer of the petition.

Mr. O'CONNELL begged to say a few words on this petition, as the noble Lord the Member for Devonshire had at this meeting expressed something he (Mr. O'Connell) was supposed to have said.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL said he was not at the meeting.

Mr. O'CONNELL — Well, at some other meeting (a laugh) the noble Lord had been represented as saying, that if tithes were abolished, he (Mr. O'Connell) would be moving for the transfer of Woburn Abbey to the Catholic clergy.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL said, he was not before aware that such language had been attributed to him in the newspapers, but he was glad of the opportunity of stating that he had not used it. What he had said, in reference to the hon. and learned Member, at some public meeting, was this: That as to the abbeys, he supposed that nobody wished them to revert to their original destination, except the hon. and learned Member for Dublin, who desired to see monasteries and nunneries restored. (Laughter). He said this, in consequence of the hon. and learned Member having, at a meeting in the county of Kildare, lamented that the nunneries of Kildare no longer flourished as they did in the 14th century.

Mr. O'CONNELL said the noble Lord did him injustice in supposing that he had any such feeling as that which the noble Lord seemed inclined to attribute to him. Whatever his private opinion might be with respect to the value of these institutions, and it certainly was very strong (hear, hear, hear), he never could think of transferring any species of private property, sanctioned by acts of Parliament, from that purpose for which it was thus legally sanctioned. The greater part of his property was of the nature of that adverted to by the noble Lord. But he now wished more particularly to allude to another observation by the noble Lord. He said that tithes originated in barbarous times. Well, tithes were introduced into Ireland by the English, so that the English were the barbarians that forced them upon

Ireland. (Hear, and a laugh). But attempts have been made to get rid of the tithes, and the Government say that it is their intention to bring in a bill to alter the present system of tithes. Now the question was this, was this alteration a good alteration? If the alteration was not only not a good one, but was in fact an aggravation of the existing evil, why then it ought to be given up. (Hear). If corn was cheap, if potatoes were cheap, why, if he then chose to give up part of his crop, and not pay money, he had the option of so doing. If corn was dear, why he had rather pay money; if corn was cheap and superabundant, why then he had rather pay in kind. The consequence was, that when corn was cheap, the party preferred to pay in corn and not in money. The peasantry of Ireland were not, generally speaking, possessed of great capital, and the consequence was, that while the choice lay in his power, he preferred to pay in kind, and it was well for him he had that choice. But by the Tithe Commutation Act, that choice was taken away from him, and a power was put into the hands of the clergyman of increasing the miseries of his debtor to an alarming extent. By that act the clergyman had the right to distrain upon every atom of the property of the poor creature for the sum due to him, even to the extent of the growing crop; so much so, that in July and August, in those months of the year in particular, the clergyman had a right to come twice upon the property of the debtor. (Hear). Before he could come only once, but now the clergyman could come upon both crops, and in addition could throw the poor debtor into gaol, if, when he had not of his own a single potato left, he should take from the seized property one to give to his family. Again, commutation in Ireland had considerably increased the amount of tithes, and they had even been more remarkably increased by the last commutation. He knew instances where, in one parish, the amount had been increased from 200*l.* to 450*l.*; in another, 50*l.* had been raised to 70*l.*; and in another, 60*l.* to 146*l.* (Hear, hear). The alteration had in fact, made

the thing worse than before. He would beg English members not to imagine that commutation would be any boon. With regard to the bill that had been brought forward for Ireland, his opinion was that its only effect would be to aggravate evil. He would caution the House before they consented to a commutation, to reflect whether or not it was calculated to lessen the evil. The honourable and learned Gentleman went into a history of the original appropriation of tithes, and their division first into four and afterwards into three parts, and contended that it was quite ridiculous to talk of spoliation. The right to dispose of the property of the church by the Parliament was sufficiently established by their former transfer from the Catholic to the Protestant clergy. (Hear, hear). If the tithes were commuted to a poundage on the rent, as the petitioners desired, it would not only give relief to the occupier, but it would serve as a check upon the landlord, and keep down the amount of rents. He was glad to see such a petition emanating from such a meeting as had been described, and from such a great English county like Devon. (Hear). He did not think that the petition was disparaged by what had fell from the hon. Member for Cheshire. (Hear). The House could not but pay regard to the opinions of 9,000 yeomen who had signed that petition (hear); and as for the 30,000 who had not signed it, the House could know nothing of their sentiments. The hon. Member (Mr. Divett) reminded him of Sir John Roche's happy remark, that he was surprised to hear the Chancellor of the Exchequer sit silent. (Laughter). Now, he (Mr. O'C.) had very little respect for people whom he heard sitting silent. (Hear, hear, and laughter).

An hon. MEMBER (name unknown) denied that it was an exclusive question. It was as much the interest of the landholders as of the landlords, to have it settled. He deprecated all present discussion of the principle of the question, but when the bill came before the House, he hoped it would be fully and fairly considered.

Mr. R. Todd concurred in the obser-

vation of the hon. Member who preceded him.

Sir HENRY WILLOUGHBY would not object to the petition being allowed to lie upon the table, but he very strongly condemned the prayer it contained. He thought if the House acceded to the prayer of that petition, it would be guilty of as gross an act of robbery and plunder, as had ever been perpetrated. (Cries of Oh, oh). This was his firm and decided opinion. The average rent of tithe paid in England was 5s. an acre. (Cries of No, no) Well suppose it was three shillings. If they reduced that three shillings to two, would they not, he put it to the House, be guilty of a pure and unadulterated act of confiscation? The honourable and learned Member for Dublin had spoken a good deal about the origin of tithes. He (Sir R. W.) thought this question had been long since set at rest; he conceived that it had been consigned to the tomb of the Capulets. Now, if the hon. and learned Member had any wish to revive it, if he was prepared to argue the question in that House, he could find an hon. Gentleman who would discuss it with him, and he was satisfied would be able to prove to the satisfaction of any hon. Member that such a division on the question never existed in England. He could not think that the people of this country, as a people, had any interest in trenching upon those funds dedicated for the support of the church, religion, and morality. Important questions might arise upon the distribution of those funds, but he denied that the people, as a people, had any interest whatever in the confiscation of a single shilling of the property of the church.

Mr. O'CONNELL begged to say that the hon. Member had totally mistaken him when he supposed him to have said that the Irish part of the question included the whole of its details. He had never denied that the interests of the present incumbents, who got four shillings in the pound, should be respected. He had also distinctly avoided going into detail, and had mixed up with the subject no more of the Irish question

than was absolutely necessary to illustrate his argument. The question would never be settled till one religion ceased to pay by force tithes for the support of another.

Mr. WILBRAHAM explained.

Mr. A. BARING deprecated any delay in bringing forward the Government plan with respect to tithes.

Mr. SHEIL concurred in hoping that there would be no delay in the announcement of the present plan. With respect to the lay tithes, he was not disposed to touch them; but if the property of the church was the property of the state, the church could not be spoliated by the state appropriating it, as the state had before appropriated church property. In the reign of Mary an act of Parliament was passed, with the sanction of the Pope, and at the instance of Cardinal Pope, confirming Woburn and Derry-nane abbeys (a laugh) to their proprietors.

Mr. SANDFORD said, with respect to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Tipperary, he thought that any measure which did not apply itself to the correction of the evils attendant on lay tithes, as well as on those of the church, would be based on injustice.

Mr. BENETT thought that the hon. Member for Tipperary's real meaning was, that he did not intend that the lay tithes should not be subject to commutation, but that they were considered as being *bona fide* private property, as contrasted with the others, which were the property of the state.

Mr. SHEIL.—Yes. (Hear).

Mr. BENETT believed that was the real meaning of the hon. Member. He agreed with the hon. Member, that lay tithes were to be considered in the light of private property, and therefore as sacred; while the others were the property of the state. He felt it his duty at the same time to say what he knew on the subject of the opinions of dissenters on this subject. He believed that no respectable dissenter wished to be relieved from the payment of tithes unless they substituted an honourable equivalent. They were hostile to tithes, it was true, as was he (Mr. Benett), but

it was because they considered them injurious alike to the church as to the country. (Hear). Church property was now most hazardous property. If the freehold of church tithes were put up to sale, it would not bring within two-thirds of what it was sure to bring five years ago. This was a cause arising solely out of the opposition of the preceding Government to a commutation of tithes. He trusted that tithes would be commuted for a land-tax, and that the price of redemption should be as low as possible. (Hear).

Sir ROBERT PEEL hoped that the House would act with the greatest caution in respect to any commutation of tithes which it might be deemed advisable to make, and that it would act under the influence of public opinion in respect to this most important matter. (Hear, hear, hear). They should remember that they were either large lay impropiators or landlords having a deep interest in an alteration in the present system of tithes. For if any one thing more than another was calculated to lessen the character of the House in the eyes of the people, it would be their feeling that they had attended to their own interests, without having any regard to those of the people generally. He should pause before they established a difference between the property of lay impropiators and the property of the church. The clergy had a vested interest in this property for their lives. This property had been secured for the purpose of affording spiritual consolation to the people, the poorest as well as the richest; and would they not, by appropriating this property to their own purposes, be guilty of an act of spoliation? The hon. Baronet proceeded to contend that to take this property from the church would be an act of spoliation. They had no right to alienate that property from the purposes for which it was vested in the hands of the clergy. Did they mean to say that reducing the tithes to 2s. instead of 6s. per acre, was not spoliation? (Hear, hear, hear). If the principle of spoliation was once established with regard to the property of the church, he could assure the House that

two years would not elapse before that principle would be applied to every other species of property.

Mr. HARVEY remembered that the sentiments uttered by the right hon. Baronet, were precisely those which he himself had expressed upon a discussion upon Irish tithes, and he well remembered too, that certain of his Irish friends around him, were not quite pleased with the view he took upon the subject. The real fact was this, and it was incumbent upon hon. Members to know it, that it was the duty of the House to see that the funds of the church were not improperly diverted. (Hear, hear). Let the tithes of this country belong to whomsoever they might, whether to the church or to the nation, of this fact there could be no doubt, that they did not belong to the landlords. (Loud cheering). The House was greatly indebted to the noble Lord, the Member for Devon, for affording hon. Members an opportunity to deliver their sentiments upon that important subject. If the noble Lord brought forward any proposition for a commutation of tithes which would turn the tithe now levied into money's worth, it would be universally disapproved of. What the people wanted was, the real value of the tithes ascertained, and then dealt with as might be thought proper. No dissenter wished to put the tithe into his own pocket, but there was certainly a kind of nondescripts in the country who did not speak out as well as the dissenters, who preserving existing interests, wished to see the revenues of the church not wasted for the purposes of the church. Notwithstanding he thought, however, that he saw a disposition on the part of the great landed interests, even in that House, to fight their battle quietly, and without any display of what is called dangerous principles, behind petitions of this kind, which ought, properly speaking, to be called petitions pointing out how each man might best help himself to a share of the public property. (Hear, hear, hear). The tithe belonging to the public which was now paid was about 5s. per acre, and what these very disinterested and very re-

spectable petitioners wanted, was to put three of those shillings into their own pockets, one of the most barefaced propositions he ever heard. The hon. member had stated, that tithes were every day becoming more and more unpopular, this, no doubt, would be a very good suggestion from a landlord. There could be no doubt but the landlords would, for their own sakes, take care to propagate this doctrine, because the tithes would go into their own pockets; but, for his part, he would much rather see it in the hands of the church than in the pockets of the landlords. (Hear, hear). But the first thing to be done was to ascertain the value of tithes in every parish in the country. This done, let the property be secured and appropriated afterwards to such purposes as might be deemed necessary, provided that the House saw the necessity for any alteration.

Sir R. PEEL wished to say one word in explanation, for the purpose of disclaiming a compliment paid him by the hon. Gentleman who had just addressed the House. From what had been stated by the hon. Gentleman, he would induce the House to believe that there was a community of feeling between him (Sir R. Peel) and the hon. Gentleman on the subject of tithes. He certainly agreed with the hon. Gentleman, that the property of that great corporation, the church, should be sacred. (Hear). But he was most hostile to the property of the church being taken by the state and applied to the purposes of the state. This doctrine he was entirely opposed to, and he should contend against it upon all occasions.

Mr. PARKOTT explained.

Mr. BENETT, in explanation, admitted that although the dissenters did not want to put the tithes in their pockets, yet that they were anxious that after the death of the present incumbents, they should be done away with altogether.

Mr. O'DWYER concurred in the prayer of the petition. He thought the hon. Member for Tipperary was quite justified in drawing a line of distinction between lay and ecclesiastical tithes. From

the one benefit might arise to the country, from the other it could not.

Mr. CURTEIS said the yeomanry of his part of the country strongly sympathised with those of Devonshire; he should, therefore, support the prayer of the petition.

An hon. MEMBER could not let pass the assertion of the hon. Member for Devonshire, that those who did not sign the petition were opposed to its prayer. He did not believe that such was the case, for he was sure if they did, they would immediately come forward with a counter-petition, which they had not done. He did not see why a great county like Devonshire should not come forward. It had done so nobly; and he could assure the House that the example would not be lost on the other parts of the country. (Hear). He should be most anxious to have it understood that if a more earnest or warm demonstration of public sentiment had not taken place, it was because the people were anxious to wait until they saw what kind of a measure would be brought forward by his Majesty's Government.

Mr. BULTEEL explained.

Lord EBRINGTON took occasion to make a few observations, and gave his Majesty's Government credit for the best intentions. No persons were more incapable of being influenced by improper or unworthy motives. He also repudiated the imputation that the landowners, who had not signed this petition, were influenced by their connexion with church property, or other selfish wishes; such was by no means the case.

After some further observations respecting the meeting from which this petition had proceeded, the noble Lord concluded by thanking the House for the attention with which this petition had been received.

RAIL-ROAD IMPOSITIONS.

I TAKE the following from a pamphlet that has just been published. I never thought about the matter before; but it really is a matter of great public

interest. It is certain that much mischief may arise from these projects. They are unnatural efforts, arising out of the resources of the country having been drawn unnaturally together into great heaps. I think this paper worthy of great attention, and as such, I lay it before my readers.

RAIL-ROAD IMPOSITIONS DETECTED;

Or, Facts and Arguments to prove that Rail-roads never can compete effectually with Canals, Steam-Carriages on Common Roads, or even Stage-Coaches. Comprising a Critical and Statistical Review of all the Estimates now before the public, both for construction and revenue; with comparative Tables of the ACTUAL and the ESTIMATED cost and profit, &c.; thus presenting the only SAFE guide yet published for future Investments.

At a moment when the *mania* for railway speculation is not unlikely to involve at least SIXTY MILLIONS of capital, should all the 3,000 miles be laid down which have been contemplated by the treasurer of the Manchester-railway, it may not be uninteresting to prove to the satisfaction of those most prejudiced in their favour, how perfectly unable rail-roads are to compete with canals, steam-carriages on common roads, or even stage-coaches.

That rail-roads have a decided superiority over all other methods of conveyance yet adopted, is certainly true, but only where great weights are required to be carried very quickly, and without regard to expense.

For example: locomotive engines, on the Manchester and Liverpool railway, have drawn 90 and even 100 tons at one time, at the rate of 20 miles an hour; being twice as great as boats on the Paisley canal, and steam-carriages on common roads.

But as the whole weight carried, in the most profitable half-year of the Manchester and Liverpool railway, was 90,972 tons in 5,293 trips, averaging about 17 tons per trip at most, as the profitable

weight; it is plain, that as the engine, tender, fuel, water, and attendance, may be said to average about 12 tons, the weight not profitable was more than *two-thirds of the whole weight carried*. Assuming, therefore, the whole estimated burden carried on the railway, to be 4,000 tons daily, for 312 days, or, according to the original estimate, 1,248,000 tons, the total weight paying *nothing* to the shareholders would be in the same ratio, at least 880,941 tons.

Hitherto, the calculation has been made on the supposition that no carriages or wagons travelled empty. But from the statement issued by the directors for instructions to Messrs. Rastrick and Walker, dated 12. January, 1829, the following calculation is made, showing that the total weight paying no toll daily, to carry 2,970 tons of profitable weight, would be as under :

	Tons.
Wagons and empty wagons from Liverpool to Manchester ..	2,180
Ditto from Manchester to Li- verpool.....	2,500
Nineteen engines and tenders, at 10 tons each.....	1,960
Total dead weight paying no toll	6,640

Thus, if 2,970 tons of profitable weight cannot be carried without 6,640 tons of weight, paying no toll, 4,000 tons of the former would burden the railway with 8,942 tons, which, for 312 working days, would be 2,789,904 tons, paying nothing, for 1,248,000 tons of profitable weight; thereby showing that the rail-road must carry nearly *twice* and a third of the whole profitable weight gratis, to make even a gross profit of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, according to the last half-year's income. Thus explaining why the expenditure in wagon department was $73\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the income, while in the coach department it was only $44\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

But, it will be said, that the question is not about the surplus weight, or the amount of expenses generally, but whether a satisfactory return can be made for the capital. To this however it may be replied, that the gross weight

not only does now, but must shortly diminish still more fearfully the dividend. For the weight paying nothing, is yearly giving birth to fresh expenses, exceeding already 14,000*l.* per annum for repairs alone; whilst it threatens at no distant date, to stop the railway altogether. That this is no designedly mischievous view of the case is proved by the fact, that every year has actually produced a diminished dividend, although the goods for conveyance have increased nearly cent. per cent.

Of this unpropitious finale to a plan, that opened with such fascinating prospects, the cause is to be traced to the miscalculations of those, who, devoting all their mind to producing velocity of transport, overlooked every fact likely to impede the prosecution of a speculation, that could not fail to be a mine of wealth to engineers, surveyors, and solicitors, whatever it might be to the less fortunate shareholders themselves.

The extent, to which these miscalculations have been carried, is such as almost to stagger belief. Some of the estimates, it is true, have stated in round numbers the probable cost; and a few have even condescended to enter a little into detail; but the majority have wisely failed to furnish any date at all; the projectors being well aware, that some *influential* names were all that were necessary to blind the avidity of capitalists, who depend more upon the integrity of ignorant committees, than upon their own good sense.

That these miscalculations have been wilfully made, far be it from us to assert. All that we are anxious to impress upon the mind of the public is, that in questions of apparently easy solution, engineers, publicly announced as the "most eminent," and surveyors of "undoubted talents and activity," are not only confessedly at variance with each other, but even with their own statements.

For example: after the Manchester line had been twice surveyed and all the levels taken by engineers and surveyors, declared by the directors to be of the highest character; and after more than 20,000*l.* had been paid for their

labours, no sooner were they examined, in May, 1825, by a committee of the House of Commons, who were no engineers at all, than, says Mr. Treasurer Booth, in his Treatise on the Railway (p. 18), "a considerable ERROR in the levels and sections was found to have been committed; and upon that ground, as well as upon others, the bill was rejected for the time being, with the exception of the preamble, which was carried by a majority of one in a committee of 73.

A fresh estimate was then issued by the directors, raising the capital from 400,000*l.* to 510,000*l.*; that is, from 12,000*l.* to 17,000*l.* per mile, and in order to produce the most perfect confidence in the accuracy of *this* estimate, after all the previous blunders, it was stated, "that to avoid all chance of "similar complaint in future, the committee had engaged the professional "services of the 'most eminent' engineers, aided by assistants of 'undoubted talents and activity'; whose "combined efforts justified the fullest "assurance, not only of the correctness "of the plans and sections, but that "the whole line would be arranged with "that skill and conformity with the "rules of mechanical science, which "would equally challenge approbation, "whether considered as a national undertaking of great public utility, or as "a magnificent specimen of art."

Unhappily, however, not even the "most eminent engineers," nor the "undoubted talents and activity of the surveyors," have been able to prevent a *fourth break down* in the professional estimate, the cost having risen from 17,000*l.* to nearly 40,733*l.* per mile.

Before, however, we proceed more particularly to point out other errors in the calculations for the Manchester line, it may be as well to remark, that the dexterity exhibited for *mystification*, appears to be quite equal to the talent for *miscalculation*.

Among the fascinations in the report of the directors, in March, 1832, the shareholders were told that the expense of omnibus accommodation was no

longer to be paid by them, but by the public. The cost for carrying passengers in the half year ending the 31. of December, 1831, is stated to be 2*s.* 0*d.* each, including 3*d.*, or about 15 per cent. for omnibuses; yet, in the last half-year, the cost for passengers, instead of being 1*s.* 9*d.* averaged about 2*s.* 10*d.*; thus adding to the cost more than four times the amount of the whole saving professed to be made by the directors fifteen months previously!

So, with regard to the revenues, the picture was equally flattering. For the carriage of goods was estimated to produce 50,000*l.* per annum, or 5 per cent. on one million of the capital, instead of which, the half-year ending the 31. of December, 1831, did not even yield one per cent. In two whole years, 1831 and 1832, it did not average yearly 2 per cent., and in the last half-year, only 1*½* per cent. The coal and turf were estimated to return 20,000*l.* per annum: yet, the utmost they have produced in eighteen months is less than 2,300*l.*

Among other delusions, previous to the opening of the railway, it was said by some of the engineers, that in proportion as the speed was increased, the expense of conveyance would be diminished, as the engines, by doubling their speed, would do, in the same time, double work. Accordingly, Messrs. Stephenson and Locke, in their original estimates, calculated the expense of an engine doing 936 trips yearly, or three trips per day, at the rate of 15 miles per hour, dragging a dead weight of about 30 tons, at 324*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* including a sum of 54*l.* wisely laid aside each year for replacement of engine and interest on cost, so that the estimated expense for motive power, was calculated at less than 6*s.* 6*d.* per trip.

The exact number of thirty-mile trips made by the engines on the Liverpool railway in the most productive half-year, ending 31 December, 1831, was 5,392, of which, 2,944 were with passengers. The total profitable weight carried, including passengers at fifteen to a ton, was, as before stated, about seventeen tons, instead of thirty tons; yet the expense or cost of these 5,392

trips for coke, wages, and repairs alone (allowing nothing for replacement), was 12,203*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*, or a little above 2*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.* per trip, instead of 6*s.* 6*d.* per trip; or the bare cost of an engine doing 936 trips was 2,107*l.* 14*s.*, instead of 270*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.*; thus proving two eminent engineers to be out in their calculations, in this item alone, more than seven times over!

To prove also how strangely some of our reviewers are out in their calculations as to the capabilities of this railway, Dr. Lardner states in his treatise, that the locomotives actually travel over 25,000 or 30,000 miles without any expense whatever for new tubing; yet in the same half-year as last alluded to, the charge for repairs and attendance on the Liverpool railway coaches is stated to be 7,455*l.* including 3,254*l.* for omnibus accommodation; leaving, therefore 4,201*l.* for repairs and attendance alone. The number of thirty-mile trips being 2,944, the total number of miles was 88,320, and as twelve out of twenty-four engines employed may be considered actually engaged in the coach department, it follows, that instead of these engines travelling 30,000 miles for NOTHING, they cannot travel even one quarter of the distance without an expense of 4,201*l.*

In confirmation of this result, the directors state in their report, July last, that "the expenses include the cost of two new engines. But a considerable saving is expected to take place by the recent application of *brass tubes* in the engines, in lieu of copper tubes, previously used, which were almost continually bursting," so that where the Doctor got his data for the wonderful economy of the engine, the next edition of his work will perhaps explain.

But one of the most vulnerable parts of the whole question is, the bare cost of keeping the railway fit for use. For this expense, under the head of "Maintenance of Road," i. e. a sum not only more than 14,000*l.* per annum, sufficient to pay five per cent on 280,000*l.* annually, but instead of being a mere bagatelle comparatively, as originally

estimated, it actually now threatens, at no distant date, to stop conveyance altogether upon it, till the road is re-laid throughout the whole distance.

The Foreign Quarterly Review, for October, 1832, observes, "The rails are not supported uniformly by lying on the surface of the road, but rest upon stone pillars or sleepers, as they are called, placed at distances of a yard from each other; and as the great weights pass over them with considerable velocity, these sleepers are driven deeper into the ground; so that the rail-road soon becomes uneven, one rail having one direction, and the next a different one. Though these defects are not easily detected by the eye, yet they are very sensible upon close inspection with instruments; and still more so by the carriages that pass over them, as the wheels in passing over the joining of two rails, receive a severe jolt, and also a change of direction. Driven first on one side of the road, then on the other, the carriage rocks like a ship at sea; whilst, at every swing, one wheel or the other strikes a rail with considerable violence."

Another writer (Mr. Vallance) after much investigation, adds, "The stone blocks or bases which carry the rails are two feet square. The weight of the large locomotive engines is above ten tons, more than half of which being thrown on two of the wheels, each block has three tons weight on it, when those wheels pass over it; consequently the pressure upon every square inch of the foundation is above four times as much as in the boilers of Bolton and Watt's steam-engines, from which result the sinkings and drivings into the ground alluded to in the Foreign Quarterly Review. In fact, there are in the whole, including every liability to derangement and repair, above 80,000 parts or places in every mile of the Manchester railway where adjustment or repair may daily be required."

But let us see how this same item will affect steam-carriages on common roads. First. It should be remem-

bered, that five or six years must be lost altogether, besides a very large sum in *interest* alone, before rail-roads for long lines can be constructed, even for the chance of income; and then at a cost, which, as compared with turnpike-roads, and the Manchester railway, is as 40,733*l.* to 1,500*l.* per mile, or more than twenty-seven times dearer than the latter. But according to the plan of Sir Henry Parnell and Mr. Telford, the expense of a stone railway to Birmingham will be about one-tenth of the estimated cost of the iron railway by four engineers; whilst, on the principle recommended by Colonel Macerone, even new lines will be wholly unnecessary.

Secondly. Steam-carriages have not to wait five or six years, or a single moment for income, having 28,000 miles of road ready made for their use, besides the benefit of not being constantly burdened as the locomotives on the Manchester railway are, with a drag to each wheel more than 400 times heavier in the shape of the first cost; whilst instead of paying 488*l.* per mile for repairs, or "maintenance of road," steam-carriages can maintain their road by paying merely twopence or threepence-halfpenny per mile for every mile they travel upon it, and not before they *do* travel upon it; whereas, the Manchester railway must pay annually in *interest* or toll, more than 2,000*l.* per mile, besides the 488*l.* per mile for repairs, whether the road be used or not; whilst the stone railway repairs will cost no more than 30*l.* per mile.

Thirdly. It may be said that steam-carriages never will succeed, owing to the complexity of the machinery, and the impossibility of freeing it from the effect of jolting, and wear and tear, on the common roads. But this, like all other objections, must surrender at last to the ingenuity of man. Already has the whole construction been simplified and reduced to a very small compass. The inventors have far excelled the inventors of railway locomotives, ten to one in speed off their own road. For not one of the latter can move effectually, if at all, on a turnpike-road: an assertion supported by the evidence of

some of our most enlightened engineers before a committee of the House of Commons, on the principle, that locomotive engines on the common road, must carry with them from twenty-one to twenty-five times greater power than they want on the railway. Besides, the boilers used on the railway will not bear a pressure of more than fifty or sixty pounds to the square inch; whilst the boilers used on the common road, drive the carriage along at the rate of ten or twelve miles an hour, and bear a pressure of 150 to 200 pounds to the square inch (or more if necessary), that is nearly four to one greater than the railway locomotives.

Nor are the boilers of railway carriages constructed on a principle of perfect safety, being all recipients of great diameter, strong merely by *thickness* and *weight* of metal; but sure to commit sad havoc should they happen to *burst*. On the other hand, the boiler of the steam-carriage patented to July last by Colonel Macerone and Mr. Squire, as well as by Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Charles Dance, Messrs. Gurney, Hancock, Ogle, and Heaton, brothers, are constructed on a principle of separation and division, thereby rendering it next to impossible that any explosion, or rather *opening*, should occur; and even if it did, the effect would be absolutely so harmless, that any one riding on the top of the boiler, would scarcely know that such an opening had been made. For the only inconvenience that can arise, is the stoppage of the vehicle. These assertions have been proved over and over again, by the repeated burstings or *openings* of some of the boilers, or rather tubes, during experimental trips, close to the backs of the passengers, owing principally to the *corroded* state of the boilers, but not to any defect in the principle, nor with any other annoyance than *delay*. Had not this been the case, a committee of engineers, headed by Mr. Telford, would not, after such occurrences under their own eye, pledge themselves to the full practicability of steam-carriages, at a speed *not attainable* by horses. In fact, even

these accidents will shortly be made almost impossible: and steam-carriages rendered as free from delays as they are now destitute of all danger to life or limb on common roads. Yet, says Investigator, p. 107, "more fatal accidents occurred upon the 31 miles of iron railway between Liverpool and Manchester, in three months, than upon all the road between London and Birmingham in so many years." Witness the late Mr. Huskisson, the engineer's own brother, and many others, the names of whom, it is said, there is considerable reluctance in declaring.

Besides, turnpike-roads can and will be made *suitable*. One of our most intelligent engineers, Mr. Macneill, in his evidence before a committee of the House of Commons, observes, "If, on the road from London to Birmingham, there were a portion laid off on the side of the road for steam-carriages, which could be done without difficulty; and if it were made in a solid manner, with pitching and well-broken granite, it would *fall little short of a rail-road*." The Commercial-road, for example, is confirmatory of Mr. Macneill's suggestion.

Colonel Macerone, late aid-de-camp to Murat, King of Naples, a well-known distinguished officer and writer, has also edited a pamphlet on this subject, published by Wilson, of the Royal Exchange. The *Times* of the 1. of November, 1833, in noticing this work, observes:

"This is Colonel Macerone's plan, and it appears more simple, sensible, and feasible, than any other yet proposed; and far less expensive, so that the sooner it is adopted the better for the public," &c.

The colonel describes the principle of his plan as under:

"There is a certain, infallible, and very cheap method, by which almost every advantage of the rail-road might be applied to every ordinary road, except, I say again, on such lines as Liverpool and Manchester; the like of which there is not in Europe. If two lines of pavement, composed of stones, six or eight feet long, and one

"to two feet square, were laid end-ways, along each side of the road, a track would be formed at a very cheap and durable rate, along which steam-carriages would most undoubtedly easily travel, at the rate of twenty miles the hour. There need be no levelling of hills; no filling up of hollows; no levelling of any kind; nothing but to keep to the surface of existing roads. The two lines on one side would be for steam-carriages going one way; the other lines, for those travelling in the contrary direction. If the road be kept on a level with the surface of the long stones, the carriages could easily quit the stones for any momentary necessity. A well-paved road is a good thing in itself; but a road to which such lines of long stones shall be applied, will allow of a velocity equal to that of a rail-road, at one-hundredth part of the expense. All ordinary hills will be ascended and descended with ease and rapidity; and the road will be equally open and serviceable for horse carriages.

"With regard to the wear and tear of the long stones, or parallopepidons, which I recommend to be laid on all high roads for the use of steam-carriages, no inconvenient wear will take place on their surfaces for the space of two or three years. When it does, all that will be required, will be to turn them over so as to present a new side to the surface; and after another lapse of time to do the like, until all the four sides have been worn in their turn. After this, the parallopepidons may be submitted to the stone-mason's chisel. In laying these long blocks of stone, care must be taken that they do not sink so as to form disjunctions at their ends. To effect this, piles of wood of about a foot square, and from two to three feet long, previously soaked in hot coal tar, must be forcibly driven into the road, so that the ends of each of the long stones shall rest on the surface of the pile, by which means, if they sink at all, they will both sink equally and together. But on the construction of such roads,

"I shall treat more at length and more minutely, when required, at a future period; I will only repeat, that along such a road, whether hilly or level, such steam-carriages as ours would travel at the average rate of, at least, twenty miles the hour, including stoppages, with ease and safety."

To show also that other minds have been at work preparatory to making roads more suitable for steam-carriages. Sir Henry Parnell has recently written a very elaborate and able treatise, explanatory of the principles on which roads should be made, with plans, specifications, and contracts, actually used by Mr. Telford on the Holyhead road. And a company is now forming to turn, in effect, one side of the turnpike-road into a rail-road for steam-carriages, without "separating parts of the estates and fields, with immense gashes and mounds," and without fixing a drag to the wheel of any of the vehicles travelling over it for the first cost, heavier than a few pence in toll, for nearly all the facilities to be had on a railway only made of stone instead of iron. For this company was formed after a committee of engineers had travelled to Stoney Stratford, fifty-two and a half miles from town, in the carriage of Sir Charles Dance, and witnessed with their own eyes facts quite sufficient to satisfy them, that steam-carriages can be made to run *continuously*, with perfect safety, and at a speed greater than can be attainable by horses; whilst the *profit* to the shareholders, as compared with railways or stage-coaches, will be as under:—

ESTIMATED CONVEYANCE BETWEEN LONDON AND BIRMINGHAM.

Steam-Carriages on the Turnpike Line.

Passengers daily.	Capital invested.	Profit per cent.
500	£350,000	20

Steam-Carriages on the Railway.

1,424	£3,500,000	8½
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Stage Coaches.

550	£120,000	10
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But as the weight of **TAXATION** is such, as to compel all classes of the community to obtain the maximum of labour, at the minimum of cost, can

any step be taken more likely to advance that object than one calculated to facilitate inland communication, by the substitution of a power cheaper than railroads, and more expeditious than stage-coaches?

To arrive at this desideratum, men of genius and enterprise have directed their attention for more than half a century, and expended a large capital in various efforts to bring to perfection steam-carriages on common roads. Oliver Evans was the earliest to introduce the principle in America; Symington in Scotland; and Gurney in England. The first in 1772; the second in 1786; and the last in 1825.

Mr. Gurney was no engineer, but a chemist, yet did he build a steam-carriage, and actually proved by its performances more than any man had been able to accomplish, the practicability of preconceived impossibilities in the judgment of some of the most eminent engineers. But shall the author of such a boon to his country be driven to the Land's-end like an exile, with his resources almost exhausted, in an honest attempt to serve himself and the nation at large? or, are we to wait till he quietly descends into the tomb of his ancestors, and then raise a monument to his memory in *mockery* of the benefits received?

Sir Charles Dance, though no engineer, next followed the example of Mr. Gurney, and by some valuable improvements in the plan of his predecessor, succeeded in building a carriage, which has already travelled the best part of 5,000 miles. Among numerous other trips, including the grand experimental trip by the Committee of Engineers, we see by a treatise published by Simpkin and Marshall, that Sir Charles Dance completed one journey from London to Brighton and back, *without any failure in the machinery*.

Colonel Macerone is no engineer; whilst his co-patentee, Mr. Squire, is one of our best operatives; yet the practical skill of the latter, aided by the ingenuity and talents of the former, has produced a steam-carriage which justifies the editor of the last *Mechanics'*

Magazine, in saying "We see enough to justify us in coming to the conclusion, that Messrs. Macerone and Squire have, in truth, produced a very capital machine, and one which might be safely left to bear the brunt of competition, on its own unexaggerated merits." It has travelled more than 2,000 miles for days, weeks, and months together, at rates varying from ten to more than fifteen miles an hour, and repeatedly to Windsor and back, including all the steepest hills round London, even when some have been newly gravelled, at a speed of seven miles an hour! whilst the cost for repairs is represented to be considerably less than any other steam-carriage proprietor has yet stated.

Messrs. Hancock, Ogle, and Heaton, brothers, are not less entitled to credit, for the efforts which they have used to perfect the principle of steam-carriages. Each having travelled over many hundred miles of ground; the latter 78 miles in one day without any failure in the machinery; whilst Mr. Hancock has actually run for hire for many weeks together, from Paddington to London; so that no very long time will elapse before each of these carriages may be expected to take the field permanently and successfully against horse coaches.

The only question is, which is the best steam-carriage? And the most effectual way of solving the problem is, for the Government to do as they have done in the case of chronometers, and the discovery of the north-west passage, and that is, to offer different premiums for different steam-carriages, in the ratio of the reduction they can effect in the cost of transport on common roads; and as soon as a carriage shall prove its claim to such reward, to give a further sum, not exceeding a reasonable per centage for previous outlay: thus exciting the talent and ingenuity of the kingdom to still greater efforts, and finally accomplishing the grand object.

PETITION.

To the honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the farmers, tradesmen, and labourers, of the parish of Stratton St. Margarets, near Swindon, Wiltshire, agreed on at a vestry meeting of the said parishioners, held this twenty-seventh day of February, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four,

Humbly Showeth,

That your petitioners being persons employed in agriculture and in trades entirely dependent thereon, have this day unanimously agreed to approach your honourable House, and set forth notable facts, which no new-fangled doctrinaires and political theorists, can safely dispute. As farmers and tradesmen, your petitioners are greatly reduced by taxation and confiscation of property, so much so, that some of us, who but a few years since were farmers, are now entirely dependent on those who are not yet broken up, and in consequence of which, we view with very great sorrow, that many plans are about to be framed into laws, which we are well assured will create more distrust and animosity amongst us, than what have occurred of late, without any remedy for our sufferings. Amongst them we hear of an act to incorporate the several parishes and tithings into large parishes and districts; while another is dinned into our ears about *rural police* and *Government magistrates*. And another of a still more savage and inhuman nature; the alteration of the bastardy laws; so that our most unfortunate females will probably be induced to add murder and starvation of the offspring of their lusts, to their former misfortunes and vices. Turn which way we will, we see revolution in our old English forms of governing, without any revolution in our taxes and oppressions. Such being the case, we pray that your honourable House will make a final stand against that faction which seems

determined to drive away all our good old English liberties and customs; and to frustrate the designs of that all-devouring monster, the moneyed aristocracy.

We humbly beg, that you will be pleased to repeal the taxes on malt, hops, and soap; and give our fellow-citizens in Ireland and Scotland good old-fashioned poor-laws, that the poor may have a joint-proprietorship in the land of their birth, as in England.

The vile hireling press accuse us, who produce the very food which they and their master tax-eaters consume, with the title of robbers and plunderers; although it is a well-known fact, that when the present taxes were imposed on us, our wheat and bacon were nearly treble the price they now are.

Hoping that your honourable House will do us justice,

We ever pray.

PETITION OF THE CARTWRIGHT CLUB.

To the honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The petition of the undersigned, on behalf of themselves and the other Members of a Club, founded on the principles of the late JOHN CARTWRIGHT, and calling itself "THE CARTWRIGHT CLUB," and unanimously agreed to at their General Quarterly Meeting, held on the 2nd of December, 1833, and by adjournment, on the 3rd and 10th of February, 1834,

Showeth,

That it is from a presumption of a real and not a virtual identity between the constituent body and its representative, that the style and title of the latter is "*the Commons in Parliament assembled*," meaning the representatives of the WHOLE PEOPLE; and, therefore,

your petitioners deeply lament, that they cannot approach your honourable House as the representatives of the WHOLE people, but only of that PART, which has, or might have voted in the election of your honourable House.

That your petitioners, in the month of June last, addressed a petition to your honourable House praying for a further reform thereof, and in conformity with your petitioners' determination to annually petition your honourable House, until such their just and constitutional demand should be granted, your petitioners now take leave to state to your honourable House such further reasons in support of their claims, as in the judgment of your petitioners, cannot fail to ensure the gravest consideration of your honourable House.

That, in their former petition to your honourable House, your petitioners claimed, for the community at large, by *unanswerable arguments*, actual representation in your honourable House, on the ground of their having rights as men, and interests as subjects, which were sacrificed to the rights and interests of the smaller number; and in this petition your petitioners claim the same rights, because they are liable to taxation, and subject to laws, to which it was impossible they could have given their consent.

That, bearing in mind the self-evident principles referred to in their former petition, and the free and protecting spirit of the ancient English institutions, your petitioners cannot refrain from stating to your honourable House, that the people having laws to observe, and taxes to pay, made and imposed *without their own consent*, are the slaves of oppressive taxation and arbitrary legislation; and that a Parliament which excludes the people from their proper and rightful share in the government of the country, enervates the political vigour of the state, strikes down the essential confidence of the public mind in the executive, and renders the deputation of the people's power, in the political person of the king, a thing in theory instead of a constitutional entity. Political liberty, of all

species of property, is the most valuable; of all inheritances the most inestimable; and of all rights the most sacred—without it nothing a man has is safe—it is his ultimate, and, in fact, his *sole* security.

In a maxim, which clearly distinguishes between constitutional right, and the law thereon built, it is said “a greater inheritance descends to every one of us from right and the laws than from our parent”; and on this maxim Sir EDWARD COKE remarks, “Right is the best birth-right the subject hath, for thereby his goods, lands, wife, children, his body, life, honour, and estimation, are protected from wrong”;—an observation by no means applicable to any other species of security other than that of political liberty.

That it is a prominent feature of English freedom, that *ALL persons who pay taxes shall enjoy the right of voting for representatives*; and when they do not enjoy such right, they are NOT in the enjoyment of political liberty; wherefore, as emphatically expressed by the late venerable Lord High Chancellor CAMDEN, “Taxation and representation are inseparably united—God hath joined them; no English Parliament can separate them; to endeavour to do it is to stab our very vitals; nor is the doctrine new, it is as old as the constitution”; and that herein consists the security of property is clearly proved by LOCKE, who says, “The supreme power cannot take from any man any part of his property without his own consent.” Men, he shows, must be in this condition of true freedom, or “they have no property at all”; for, says he, “I truly have *no property* in that which another can by right take from me, when he pleases, *against my consent*.”

That representation being a common right, ought to be fairly and equally distributed throughout the community; for, although every man were an elector, yet, by a mere violation of the principle of an equitable distribution of free and independent suffrage, the entire liberties of a nation may be practically subvert-

ed and taken away; or, in other words, in all operative effect, annihilated.

That it is necessary to the freedom of election, that the mode of voting be by ballot, in order to place the individual above the hope of eventual unjust gain, or the fear of eventual evil to himself or his connexions.

That it is essential, not only to the sacred rights of justice, but to the very being of political liberty, that no Parliament have continuance for a longer period than *one year*, for the reasons, amongst others, stated in your petitioners' former petition to your honourable House; and because when Parliaments are of “*too long continuance*,” it is not only the estate of the rising generation which is invaded, but also the estate of the whole people.

That it was admitted, upon the passing of the late Reform Bill, that the House of Commons was so extensively corrupted as not to be in any rational or constitutional sense the representative of the people, and yet the Reform Bill has given little freedom to the people. If, by disfranchising a nominee borough, it destroyed the political pest-house of a lordly autocrat, it created, at the same time, exclusive privileges for a band of oligarchs—it despoiled the people, in many instances, of the *elective franchise* altogether, and made the *new franchise* dependent on a certain annual rent or value, and on the payment of taxes by a certain day. Thus this bill branded poverty as a crime, and punished the needy and defenceless with the loss of one of the dearest rights to which Englishmen are entitled.

Your petitioners entreat your honourable House to look well to the present state of society—the progress of republican principles—the unexampled tide of emigration of small capitalists to foreign countries—the resistance made against the assessed taxes, and the various combinations throughout the kingdom—in short, to the growing dissatisfaction expressed by the community, and ask yourselves the cause. With the people the answer is natural and obvious—they *are not represented in your honourable House*; and consequently are without

political protection, and feel its evils; they see lordly domination and corrupt influence as great as before, and the represented few yet giving law to the unrepresented millions.

Your petitioners perceive with deep regret, that much of the same sort of corruption and unsound policy prevails in your honourable House, which brought former Houses of Commons into such disrepute; and recollecting the dire calamities to which the country was subjected by former Parliaments, and under which it yet groans, your petitioners earnestly call upon your honourable House to purge itself, by at once giving a real parliamentary reform, whereby the *whole* people may be truly and fairly represented.

Your petitioners, for themselves, and likewise on behalf of the community at large, do therefore pray that they may be forthwith put in actual and full possession of their undoubted rights and liberties, which, for conciseness, may be thus stated;—Male suffrage—co-extensive, with direct and indirect taxation—an equal distribution of it, on one and the same day, throughout the kingdom—vote by ballot and annual Parliaments—and if your honourable House should have any doubt (which your petitioners cannot suppose it will) touching what is herein prayed for, your petitioners further pray to be heard by their counsel at your bar.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

Signed on behalf of the Club by the three chairmen of the three meetings, by the honorary secretary, and by members of the Club.

HISTORY OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

No. XIV.

THIS number, which is just published, continues, and brings nearly to a conclusion, the History of the last American War; and, of course, it records the knockings and beatings about; the real thrashings, which our navy got in that

war, about which the people of England have never known any more than the people of China have; but it is right that they should now know a pretty deal about it, having to pay 1,607,966 pounds for services rendered in the last war, and not for services now; and having to pay for *half-pay* to naval officers alone, 847,630 pounds a year, while the whole of the American navy, augmented as it has been, costs only about 600,000 pounds a year. This being the case, it is right that the people of England should know something about the exploits on account of which they pay all this money; and in this history of mine they will see all about it. The truth has been smothered from the year 1812 to the present day; but it is not to be smothered any longer.

LOCUST TREES.

I HAVE about seven thousand of these left; and I sell them at five pounds a thousand. They can be had at BOLT-COURT at any time, in six days after they are ordered. They are very fine, having been removed, and having the finest roots possible. Any one who plants them ought to have my book called the WOODLANDS, or he will not do it well.

LOCUST SEED.

Very fine and fresh to be had at BOLT-COURT for eight shillings a pound. A pound, if properly sowed, will produce from eight to ten thousand plants. To sow the seed properly, you must read the "*Woodlands*." If you follow the directions therein, almost every seed will come up: if you do not, you will get very few plants, and, perhaps, none at all.

FIELD SEEDS.

I notified, some time ago, that I should not make any distinction in price, whether a single pound, or a number of pounds were sold; but, by some mistake, the old prices were inserted in a recent *Register*. The prices will, for the present, be as follows:

Deep red MANGEL WURZEL Seed, 9d. a pound. — SWEDISH TURNIP Seed, which I warrant to be the finest and truest that ever was grown in England, 9d. a pound.—ITALIAN CLOVER SEED, one shilling and threepence a pound.

GARDEN SEEDS.

Bags of seed for large gardens (the seeds tied up in paper bags, and those sewed up in a canvass bag), with a printed list of the seeds in the inside, along with a manuscript card of my writing, with the following words on it, "Garden seeds, raised at Normandy farm, in 1833, by Wm. Cobbett," 25s. each.

Bags for small gardens, having all the same sorts of seeds, but in half the quantity of the preceding, with printed list and card the same, 12s. 6d. each.

The following is the list of my seeds, which contains the KNIGHT-PEA, not contained in my list of last year. The EARLY-FRAME pea is the very quickest coming that I ever saw in my life; and I think I can defy all the world for cabbage seed, though I have not got it, even yet, into that state of perfection that I shall have it next year.

KITCHEN-GARDEN SEEDS.

- No.
1. Asparagus.
 2. Bean—Broad, or Windsor.
 3. Long Pod.
 4. Early Masagan,
 5. Kidney (or French). Scarlet Runners.
 6. White Runners.
 7. Bean—Black Dwarf.
 8. Dun Dwarf.
 9. Robin-Egg.
 10. Speckled.
 11. Beet—Red.
 12. Brocoli—White.
 13. Purple.
 14. Cape.
 15. Cabbage—Early Battersea.
 16. Early York.
 17. Savoy.
 18. Kale—Curled—Scotch.
 19. Carrot.
 20. Cauliflower.
 21. Celery.
 22. Chervil.

23. Cress.
24. Cucumber, early frame.
25. Corn (Cobbett's).
26. Endive.
27. Leek.
28. Lettuce—White Coss.
29. Brown Dutch.
30. Mustard—White.
31. Nasturtium—Dwarf.
32. Onion.
33. Parsnip.
34. Parsley—Curled.
35. Knight-Pea.
36. Pea—Early-frame.
37. Tall Marrowfats.
38. Dwarf Marrowfats.
39. Radish—Early Scarlet.
40. White Turnip.
41. Spinage.
42. Squash (from America, green variety).
43. Turnip—Early-Garden.

FLOWER SEEDS.

44. Canterbury Bells.
45. Catch Fly.
46. China-asters.
47. Convolvulus—Dwarf.
48. Indian Pink.
49. Larkspur—Dwarf Rocket.
50. Lupins—Dwarf Yellow.
51. Poppy—Carnation.
52. French.
53. Stock, Scarlet, ten-week.
54. Mignonette.
55. Sweetwilliam.
56. Sweet Pea.
57. Venus's Looking-glass.
58. Virginia Stock.
59. Wall-flower.

REPRESENTATION OF PAISLEY.

On Monday evening, Mr. Douglas of Barloch, addressed the electors and other inhabitants of Paisley, in the old Low Church, with a view of offering himself as a candidate for the representation of that town.

Mr. DOUGLAS was warmly greeted on entering the church. He addressed himself to the citizens of Paisley generally, whether enfranchised or disfranchised, (applause), for he had always maintained that, by the ancient law, householders

had the right of choosing whoever ruled them; and when the Duke of Wellington was driven from power by refusing all reform, and Earl Grey, who had early and constantly supported a large basis of representation, came into power on promise of reform; but before that had assumed any shape, he (Mr. D.) at the reform Glasgow meeting, had warned Ministers (for he had even then unfavourable forebodings) against transplanting from Ireland the franchise which had been raised to please the opponents of Catholic emancipation. He had written to persons near the Government to avoid this, and give the old constitutional household suffrage to the towns. The evil of such a restricted franchise in towns had been aggravated by the Marquis of Chandos' clause giving the county franchise to land tenants, and not to the whole county householders. From the altered value of money, the tenants were generally in arrear of rents stipulated in paper currency, and they were led with ropes around their necks to the poll, which enabled the landlords to dictate the county representation as effectually as ever the splitting paper freeholds did. (Great applause). The town of Paisley had been always known as a seat for ingenious manufactures, requiring scientific skill, and the people, consequently, studious, thinking, and sober, and well informed; and knowledge necessarily taught the value of liberty to public prosperity and private happiness. (Applause). It was not remarkable, therefore, that such a people were the first and the boldest in demanding the restoration of the representative franchise which alone distinguishes a freeman from a slave. (Great applause). But it was remarkable that the class who chiefly, if not exclusively, petitioned for the franchise, and thereby showed how worthy they were of it, were denied the franchise, which was given to those who had set no value on it and had never sought for it. (Loud cheers). But at a former election the enfranchised citizens of Paisley had acted, not merely without divisions among themselves, but in harmony with their excluded

brethren, as trustees invested with a power to act not for an exclusive, but the general interest of all who were subjected to the laws and the taxes enacted by their representatives. He doubted not that from a sense of common interest, the same harmonious union would, on the present occasion, reject those who merely sought to gratify vanity and sow pernicious distractions among reformers, and enable them to show speedily a decisive majority; which would deter from vexatious distraction. The first session of the reformed Parliament had grievously disappointed the people of those practical reforms of crying grievances which had been the sole object of the reform. (Loud cheers). But this did not proceed so much from individual members as from deep-seated general causes. The franchise had not only been unduly limited in towns, and indefinitely multiplied in landlords' hands in the counties, but the greatest of all errors was the neglect by Earl Grey, to obtain after the rejection of the Reform Bill by the Lords, the power of an extensive creation of peers to correct the deranged balance of parties in that House, without which, he would never have power to carry any practical reform that touched the Tory majority; the reform of the army, navy, law, revenue, colonies, and above all, the church. (Great cheering). Lord Chatham had said that the House of Lords needed reform more than the Commons; and if so in his time how much more, after the host of Tory peers created by the last two Georges to support war against representation abroad and at home; in America and France. (Great cheering). He had at various public meetings unsuccessfully, and others successfully, urged the primary importance of addressing the King to create peers, while the popular excitement could extort it from the court party; for Lord Wharncliffe shrewdly counselled the peers to stand out of the way till the bill passed, and the ferment subsided, well knowing the difficulty of rousing the people on measures of detail for effecting the most necessary practical reforms. The misconstrued franchise had enabled

the same class of persons, though of really or pretended more liberal principles, but all connected with the aristocracy of wealth or of title, to fill the reformed House of Commons. The old House of Commons, nominated by the House of Peers, had systematically plundered the people to pamper the aristocracy and their connexions, who monopolised all influence, employment, and emolument in church and state, and in every ramification of official function. Was this state of things abated, or taxes from which all this profligate expenditure was defrayed, reduced, as they should have been by the reformed Parliament? The master grievance that all candidates and electors agreed should be first reformed, was the nuisance of the Irish church; a non-resident pluralist pampered clergy imposed on nine-tenths of the people who paid another clergy, for the mere purpose of quartering on the people the aristocracy and their connexions. (Loud cheers). Nay, to uphold this this dreadful system of tyranny, and levy the tithes, and suppress the perpetual civil war, such as our ancestors maintained against episcopacy, an army equal to that which gained the battle of Waterloo, as the return of regulars, militia, police, and yeomanry showed, was maintained in Ireland out of the taxes to wage an inglorious war against tithe pigs. (Loud cheering). Did the Ministers commence the session by a bill to reform this nuisance, to tranquilize the Irish people (as William the III. tranquillized Scotland in 1688), and disband this great army, and disarm that most unconstitutional force the Orange yeomanry, mounted and armed, and let loose by Orange justices of the peace, to fire on the people, exasperated by premature and offensive seizures for the tithes of a non-resident clergy? (Loud cheers). No. Ministers—compelled to quit their places or please the bishops—(cheers)—brought in a bill to outlaw the whole Irish nation; to supersede the law of the land by martial law; the judges' ermine on the bench by the scarlet and sword of military dandies, trained to passive obedience, who charged not

juries, but with the bayonet. (Loud cheering). The redress of the intolerable grievance of the Irish church, which made Ireland rock like an earthquake, was put off to a future day which never came, for the only point worth the people's care, the application of surplus church property to relieve the burdens of the people, was in due time sacrificed to the bishops' bench, and the money to be appropriated by a board not as first proposed with a majority of laymen, but of clergymen, with powers to lay out that surplus in building churches and parsonage-houses, in parishes where not a Protestant existed, to keep up the pay of the aristocratic clerical force, on pretence of beating up for as many recruits among the Catholics as would fill up the parochial functionaries of bell-ringer, clerk, and sexton, while neither the living nor the dead required their services. (Cheering). What was the benefit to the tithe-paying people that ten bishops should drop off in twenty years? That a per centage of a pluralist with four horses to his carriage travelling on the Continent, was to be given to one with only two horses, travelling through the English watering places? It was only a more equal division of prize money of both among the aristocracy and their connexions (hear); an equalization by reducing the number of great prizes and increasing the value of smaller prizes in the great church-and-state lottery. (Cheers). By the false measure of applying coercion to a tortured people, instead of trying the soothing effect of the redress of abating the grievance, the Ministers threw away their own characters for consistency, disgusted the people, and freed Tory lords from all fear of a future Whig opposition; so that they could urge Ministers on from one disgraceful act to another, since the threat of going out as baffled reformers, and appealing to the people was utterly impossible after the Irish Coercion Bill. (Cheers). The few honest men connected with the aristocracy, elected by the people, were placed in a false and cruel position by the state of the House of Lords, which Chatham had called an hospital of in-

curables. (Cheers). They were forced to support Ministers, or see them turned out, and the Duke of Wellington and the Tories in power. They disgusted their constituents and forfeited their pledges at the hustings, often from a mistaken sense of the superior duty of preventing a collision of the Commons with the Lords, which should throw out Lord Grey, and carry in the Tories. But here honesty both in the Ministers and their adherents would have been, as it always must be, the best policy. Had Earl Grey retrieved his error on the first loss of the Reform Bill, by insisting for a creation of peers rather than meet the first reformed Parliament with a Speaker in the chair whom he had put upon the shelf without a peerage, and proposing, instead of the promised reform of the Irish church, a bill to outlaw the Irish people, and silence by the sword the press and public meetings, and try by red-coated juries all who wrote or spoke for redress of that nation's unbearable wrongs; a tyranny which Castlereagh never would have proposed, had he demanded from the King the power of maintaining himself in a friendly House of Peers by new creations, with the alternative of resignation—the court must have given way—else the spectacle of such a piece of Irish tyranny put into the hands of the author of reform to execute, and his indignant retreat from office sooner than so forfeit all title to consistency as a reformer—would have roused the whole people to carry him back again to office with full power, secure himself firmly there by a duly counterbalanced peerage, and to go on putting into speedy execution all required practical reforms. As it is, the Ministers have, by this dereliction of all their recorded professions out of office—deprived themselves and their devoted adherents of the confidence of the people; and passed a long-feverish, disgraceful session in soliciting from the bishops and Tory majority of the peerage, permission to pass some miserable paltry measures, to give the air of doing something just to pacify the people as a sort of reform. Indeed, the only measure of real reform, the Scottish Burgh Bill, had

a narrow escape in the House of Peers from the hands of the Tory majority, who would have kicked it out in the close of the session, but that Tory creditors of the bankrupt burgh of Edinburgh wanted to get a loan of the public money, which the treasury would not give to an unreformed burgh. But for this accident, Lord Haddington's argument would have justified a vote of the Tory lords, that the burghs of Scotland should not be reformed (as was done with England), till an expensive commission should solve the very difficult problem of rotten burgh reform. (Loud laughter and cheers). Has the reformed Parliament relieved the people as they ought to do by taking off taxes? The only paltry relief is from a surplus revenue, obtained by the taxes being more severely collected, and partly from the natural fall in the price of articles consumed in the different great public services. No tax has been reduced, generally speaking, by measures producing the requisite reduction of expenditure. (Cheers). The only inquiry having this object, seems to be to reduce the sum paid by the rich in England for the support of the poor, by way of making them more quiet and contented; and a sham commission, to invent new pretexts for refusing to appropriate a part of the wealth of the Irish church to its original purpose, the support of the Irish poor. (Applause). Were the Irish church reformed, two millions might be saved from the army for the extinction of tithes. The overpayments to the aristocratical caste in all offices should be curtailed to the size of the pay for similar service elsewhere. (A voice in the gallery—Pensions). Yes; the Member for Paisley must vote against all unmerited pensions; and he must not have an interest in screening any pensioner. (Loud cheering). This brought him to say something of the blame which the people themselves must bear in having chosen representatives from the aristocratical caste everywhere. They had not yet emancipated themselves from the old and servile habit of imitating the former practice in the selection of representatives solely from the arist.

cracy of wealth or of title. The middle classes should assert their own just importance, and select, without respect to such antiquated and trivial distinctions, representatives who were trained to business, who could examine documents, compare evidence, revise laws, who sharing from their position the opinions of the people, had firmness and moral courage to act on their opinions, and by talents for public discussion, and placing intricate subjects in a clear point of view, obtain attention to matters of business, and even to unwelcome truths from a fastidious and unwilling aristocratic auditory, often not very courteous or orderly, when pressed to hear disagreeable remonstrances on behalf of the distresses of the people, and the preference of the interests of the aristocracy which pervades the whole legislation of the last century. (Hear, hear, and cheers). Of this preference of the aristocracy in relief from taxation, nothing could be a stronger instance than what regarded the commercial intercourse with France, which nearly concerned the interests of a most important class of the electors of Paisley.

(To be continued.)

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1834.

INSOLVENT.

GRASEMANN, C. F., Wells-street, Hackney, merchant.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

STOKES, T., Cradley, Worcestershire, druggist.

BANKRUPTS.

CONNELL, T., otherwise T. P. Connell, John's-mews, Little James-street, Bedford-row, coach-maker.

FARMER, J., Putney, chemist.

HAYNES, G., Trinity-street, Southwark, licensed-victualler.

HONE, J., Northampton, batter.

KEEP, J. and J., Nottingham, grocers.

KENNING, T., Birmingham, fire-iron-manufacturer.

LEMON, J. H., New-street, Whitechapel, millwright.

PERKINS, H., Reading, Berkshire, corn-dealer.

SAMBELL, P., Truro, Cornwall, timber-merchant.

TAPLEY, J., jun., Torrington, Devonshire, wool-len draper.

WILDE, E., Royton, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.

TUESDAY, MAR. 5, 1834.

INSOLVENT.

RICHARDSON, J., Brownlow-street, Holborn, tailor.

BANKRUPTCIES ENLARGED.

LANCASTER, H., Tunbridge Wells, Kent, upholsterer.

ROBERTS, J., Caernarvon, Caernarvonshire, merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

BARD, W., Fareham, Hampshire, builder.

CHRISTOPHERSON, C., Brighton, printer.

EYRE, B., Huddersfield, Yorkshire, inn-keeper.

HEMMING, P. H., and T. Monkhouse, St. Paul's Church-yard, lacemen.

HENDERSON, T. C., New Bond-street, dealer in dressing-cases and cutlery.

HEYGATE, J., Mansfield, Nottinghamshire, cotton-spinner.

HOLT, R., and J. Givens, Monk Wearmouth, Durham, common-brewers.

KEAY, W., Birmingham, victualler.

KIDDER, J., Strand, silversmith.

LEWIS, W. J., Trosymarian, Anglesea, merchant.

MEANLEY, R., Great Barr, Staffordshire, farmer.

SILLITO, A., Macclesfield-street, City-road, wharfinger.

WALKER, B. K., Huddersfield, Yorkshire, grocer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Mar. 3.—The supplies of Wheat this morning, though moderate from the home counties, yet, in addition to the quantity left over from last week, proved much more than adequate to the demand. Many of the fresh samples were rough and out of condition, and as little disposition appeared to purchase, all descriptions must be noted cheaper; good qualities 1s. and inferior 1s. to 2s. per qr. An inquiry still existed for Kubanka Wheat in bond, for exportation to Portugal, at from 32s. to 34 but we did not hear of any actual sales being effected.

Fine samples of malting and chevalier barley being scarce, and meeting rather an improved demand, former prices were fully sup-

ported. In distillery and grinding sorts no alteration, and the trade dull.

Malt is in a very limited request, and with the exception of the better descriptions, prices perfectly nominal.

We had a good supply of Oats, but the article met a moderate demand at last week's prices.

Beans attracted little attention, and prices sustained no alteration.

White Peas continued extremely dull, while Hog Peas were saleable at an advance of 1s. per qr.

The Flour trade remains in a very inanimate state, and ship qualities extremely heavy at last week's reduction.

Wheat	50s. to 58s.
Rye	—s. to —s.
Barley	23s. to 25s.
— fine	28s. to 31s.
Peas, White	—s. to —s.
— Boilers	33s. to 38s.
— Grey	30s. to 32s.
Beans, Small	33s. to 37s.
— Tick	2s. to 33s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 23s.
— Feed	17s. to 20s.
Flour, per sack	43s. to 46s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	95s. to 100s.
— Mess, new	55s. to 57s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	76s. to 80s. per cwt.
— Carlow	74s. to 86s.
— Cork	70s. to 74s.
— Limerick ..	68s. to 70s.
— Waterford ..	70s. to 76s.
— Dublin	52s. to 62s.

SMITHFIELD, March 3.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep, and Lambs, was, for the time of year, moderately good; the supply of Calves and Porkers but limited. Trade was throughout dull. With Beef and Veal at a depression of about 2d. per stone; with Mutton, Lamb, and Pork, at Friday's quotations.

Full three-fourths of the beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of short-horns, Devons, Scots, and Welsh runts; the remaining fourth of about equal numbers of Herefords, Irish beasts, and Town's-end Cows, about 50 Sussex beasts, a few Staffords, &c.

A moiety, at least, of the Sheep were South-Downs; about a fourth new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the South-Down and white-faced crosses; and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of old Herefords, old Lincolns, horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

The Lambs, in number about 300, were chiefly Dorsets.

About 500 of the beasts, about two-fifths of

which were Scots, the remainder, about equal numbers of short-horns, Devons, and Welsh runts, with a few Norfolk home-breds, were from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 350, chiefly short-horns, with a few Devons, runts, Herefords, and Irish beasts, from Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, and others of our northern grazing districts; about 150, chiefly Devons, with a few Herefords, runts, Scots, and Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 60, chiefly Sussex, with a few Irish beasts, Devons, and Welsh runts, from Surrey, Sussex, and Kent, and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the stall-feeders, &c., near London.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, March 7.

The arrivals this week are moderate. The market very dull at the prices of Monday.

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